5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

But, of course, we do not force things down anybody's throat. 000

Colonel J. K. Tod: It is forty years ago since I spent some time in Aden. The lecturer said that the Mushraqis were rather darker than the western people. My recollection is that they were fair and aquiline compared with those further west. 142

You spoke about the shrines of ancient saints being very much revered. At the west of Dhala there was an object of great veneration. 778

My impression in those days was that the tribes of the Aden Protectorate were extremely democratic and had very little class distinction. The only distinguishing mark was in their dress. The ordinary tribesmen wore indigo-dyed clothes, giving them a very dirty appearance, because the dye always came off all over their bodies, and the better classes wore white with coloured head-dresses. They seem to have commanded the respect of the people, who showed it in a very peculiar way. A tribesman would come up to one of his sheikhs, who might be sitting on a rock, and by way of showing him respect he would catch him by the head and pull it down and kiss him on the head. It seemed to be the ordinary respectful greeting. 181 291 576

You mentioned the eastern confederacy, the Qataban. Is the present tribe the Quteibi? They were one of the confederacy under the Amir of Dhala. My recollection is that that is the only confederacy in the whole Protectorate. It was a very loose confederacy. 619 631 643

Mr. Hamilton: The Yafai people are western. They are not of the western Mushraqi type at all. The Yafais are a very fine lot. There are, I think, two battalions of Yafai soldiers in Hyderabad under the Nizam. They travel all over the world, but they will not let anyone else travel over *their* world. The Amir of Dhala is the chief of the confederation over which he rules, which does not actually include the Quteibis. A political mistake was made originally by trying to put the Quteibis under him. Now, when you put them under Lahej, they say they would rather be under Dhala, and *vice versa*. They have the greatest fun the whole time. Their idea of fun is to shoot and loot each other. When the R.A.F. drop a couple of bombs, usually well wide of their villages, they take the unexploded bomb at once, pick it up, carry it off, put it under a neighbour's house and set fire to it. [144]

Kissing at the top of the head is most respectful, but, of course, there again in South Arabia you kiss the hem of the man's garment one minute and put a knife just where you have kissed the next. But they are extremely respectful, and the chiefs do carry with them the whole honour and self-respect of the tribe. 576

If in battle one of the chiefs is killed, it is very much regretted, and the whole tribe turns out to bury him. Also the son of a chief and his headmen of villages will indulge in the kiss on the thigh and knee, salutes accorded originally to patriarchs.

Mrs. Gregory: Is there any connection between the people from Baluchistan Makran and the Mushraqi?

Mr. Hamilton: I do not think there is any connection except that a few travellers come across from the Persian Gulf.

Dr. Hugh Scott (unable to be present) asked Major Hamilton (in writing) whether he considered the confederation of Ma'an to be the 101 174 619

182 628 411 436 [792] 182 671 576 183 182 673 728 671 [625] [643] 000

the flood of precision rifles which has entered the territory in the last quarter of a century. In particular, the introduction of the cheap Le Gras carbine, selling at the price of four goats, wrought untold harm. Ease of killing and the extreme danger in which most of the people now live has resulted in the breaking down of tribal custom. In a certain blood feud within the tribe of Ma'an killing by treachery became the rule some years ago on both sides of the feud. Men were killed, in direct contravention of tribal custom, when they were being escorted by the killers and by Seyyids or holy men. The breaking of tribal custom may seem a small thing to those who have not made a study of tribal life. To assess the gravity of its breach one must enquire into its purpose.

Tribal custom is a code of life and behaviour. It lays down modes of greeting, which are stereotyped verbal approaches to understanding and friendship. It lays down laws for eating and drinking and for all the functions of life. It ensures honesty in public dealing and in private relationships. It gives rules of procedure for tribal conferences, for the entertainment of visitors and the protection of fugitives, the poor and the weak. In a primitive community it is the cement with which the community is bound together. When individuals can break tribal custom without punishment the last security for the community has gone and chaos is only a matter of time. When the breach occurs in the very centre of a confederation, as it has in Ma'an, the final disintegration of the confederation as a social unit cannot be far ahead. The confederations will break naturally into warring tribes, as has happened in Dathina. The disintegration of the tribes would follow were the feuds to remain unchecked.

I have covered in the main the social organization of the tribes into their confederations and have shown the course which these confederations are following, a process of disintegration which began, no doubt, in about the third century of our era. In those districts under the rule of Suzerains social collapse has been halted by autocratic rule. This rule enforces peace by stopping the feuds and by supporting Sharia' courts, whose judgments, though often unfair, are at least upheld by the autocrat's police forces. Such tribes are, moreover, simple to deal with, as the government is vested in one man with an educated point of view. Whether or not the autocrat is essential for progress towards self-rule is a controversial matter into which it is not my province to enter.

In reply to a question as to whether the kings were killed off when they reached old age, Major Hamilton said no; they had reached a stage when nobody was sacrificed for them. In Uganda the King, when he was crowned, held a spear in his hand and two men stood with him, one the Prime Minister and the other a low-class individual. The King touched the Prime Minister with the spear, and the Prime Minister touched the other man with the spear. Before Stanley's advent, the King pricked the Prime Minister with the spear and then turned round and killed the other man. That was the sacrifice in place of himself or his father or whoever came before. As far as was known, by 700 B.C. there was no more sacrifice of kings in the Yamen, but there must have been before then.

• 57644 Certain tribes of the Aden Protectorate, in particular the Aulaqis, perform a peculiar greeting ceremony called the *Móqab*. When visitors of importance approach a settlement, word of their coming is sent on ahead, and the men of the settlement turn out to receive them. They parade in a long line on some convenient piece of flat ground in front of their forts, with the leading men and important guests in
[534] the centre. On the appearance of the visitors a drum is usually beaten, and shots are exchanged in salute. The Bil Obeid consider it complimentary to shoot as close to the visitors as possible, but most of the tribes have the sense to fire straight up into the air.

P. 88 (C)

PROTECTORATE. *By Major the Honourable*

576 When the visitors come near they dismount, form a line with the most important men in the centre, advance to a distance of about fifty yards [411] from the 'home side,' and halt. They then load their rifles, adjust their garments, and wait for the ceremony to begin. The men of the 'home side' now spring forward, usually in couples holding hands, and, uttering war cries, form themselves into a long column, with the most important men in front. The column moves towards the visitors, but it is led in wheels and circles, so that at no time is it directly approaching them. If the principal men are not in front, it indicates that some at least are not disposed to give the visitors a very cordial welcome.

P·88(D)

576 A tribesman now separates himself from the
587 'home side' and, very fast and in a loud voice,
533 declaims verses which he has composed (fig. 1). If these are not accepted by his companions he declaims others, until acceptance is indicated by cries of 'Yallah.' He then begins to intone the first half of his verses in a chant peculiar to the occasion, and is followed by the leading half of the column. The second half of the verses is chanted by the second half of the column. When the poet is satisfied that the words are being sung correctly by all, he resumes his place in the column and joins in the singing. The column has meanwhile continued to wheel and circle (fig. 2).

576 The visitors can judge, from the words sung,
533 whether their welcome is a hearty one, or not. These words are not always polite, and the

576 greatest interest in them is displayed by the
533 visitors, not only because they must soon reply in kind, but also because upon them may depend whether the visitors remain to feast and spend the night or whether, with unpleasant smiles and covert insults, they will move off to sleep elsewhere. On one occasion in Hâdhina the greeting song opened with the words—'It is only through 'our politeness that you have crossed the boun-'daries of Hâdhina.' These words, and a rapid count which showed that over half the 'home side' were in the forts, led to suspicion, and caused the visitors to extend their line until all semblance of ceremony was lost. But if the words are pleasant, an atmosphere of friendliness
576 is quickly established. The men of the 'home
411 side' eventually file past the principal visitors, often firing their rifles and 'salaaming', and wheel back into their original line.

P. 89 (B)

ll: Hamilton G-3 (ca. 1942)1942 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

000 often firing their rifles and 'salaaming,' and wheel back into their original line.

• 876 The visitors now go through the same procedure, until they too file past their principal hosts and reform their line. The principal men of the 'home side' now advance and are met in the centre, between the two lines, by the principal visitors. The two sides move in single file and greet each other, without speaking, by clasping right hands, raising them to face level, and giving them a good hearty sniff, half sniff and half kiss; the hands on meeting are slapped hard together. On no account is the thumb held, as by the Yemenis and Somalis: this is considered indecent.

The principal men of both sides now face each other, and the usual verbal greetings are given,

576 but it is a hard and fast rule that no news shall be given. The sheikh and ten men may have been killed in a blood feud the day before, but the answer to the question : 'Any news ?'—which is invariably asked—is always given in the formula —'There is no news, and nothing has been 'started, and nothing has been destroyed, and 'no one has said anything to anybody.'

This flat denial of news ends the ceremony. The visitors, if they are staying, hand over their rifles to their hosts, and are led by the left hand [272] into the village, where they drink the bitter infusion of coffee-husk, flavoured with ginger. Conversation then becomes normal, and news is exchanged.

576 This greeting ceremony, as performed by the 537 Aulaqi tribesmen, with its long and rather

p. 89 (D)
[text continued on p. 90(A)]

576 monotonous chant, has considerable dignity, but
587 as performed by the Qaramish, at a fast and ungainly run, it strikes one as laughable.

576 The most remarkable feature about the ceremony as a whole is the twisted path taken by the singers, for the more the leaders wheel and turn,

P. 90 (A)

the better it is considered. A hundred men or more in file, wheeling and circling in this way, present a very snake-like appearance, and such is admitted to be the intention, though no reason is given for it.

P. 90 (B)

20: Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1950 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Cries for assistance have also their own fixed forms. Should anything happen to a man he shouts for help with the phrase Yā Labbaik, yā labbaik [19], known to the classical tongue. Let it also be remarked that labbaik is the normal interjection used when asking a word or phrase to be repeated, equivalent to plaît-il. The reply to such a call by those coming to the assistance of a man in trouble of danger of any sort is Yā marḥīb, yā marḥīb. When in distress the ʿAwāmir tribe shout out ʿĀmir, yā wulīd ʿĀmir, to which the reply is Labbaik, yā labbaik. The ʿAbīd in similar circumstances cry ʿĪk, ʿĪk, and those coming to their help reply with zāmils.

It seems that when one gives the tribal cry (ṣarkhah) amongst the tribes of Raidat al-Daiyin, the words Yā Ḥimyarāh are shouted [20].

R. B. SERJEANT.

[19] For an interesting use of labbaik see C. A. STORRY, *The Fākhir of al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama* (Leiden, 1915), p. 224.

[20] Al-Rābiṭat al-ʿAlawīyah, (Batavia, 1347 H.), I, p. 354.

21: Thomas T•5 (no date) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM 2

825 789 754 a 5 ft. 4 in. specimen, took delight in stroking his own eyelids with its tail. This he held would impart virtue to his sight.

I have never met animistic cults amongst northern Arabs, who profess contempt for such practices, if indeed they do not dub them ungodly.

INHERITANCE.

428 The usual law of Muhammadan inheritance, which is inviolable in other parts of Arabia, is not here observed. By that law a man's estate, after meeting of debts, is divided up into shares—a daughter receives one share, a son two shares, and the wives one-eighth of the estate. Where there are no sons, the paternal uncle, or in the case of there being none, the paternal male cousins, receive the son's share. Amongst the southern borderland tribes, Al Kathir, etc., the debts on a man's estate may not take up more than one-third of it. Of the remaining two-thirds of it, one-fourth goes to the wife that has borne children, one-eighth to the wife that has not borne children and the remainder goes to the children. But where it differs from Shara law is that if there is no son and less than three daughters, the deceased's brother is entitled to only a daughter's share, and if there are three or more daughters, they take the whole of it, and paternal male relations get nothing.

The laws of inheritance of the mountains are also peculiar. They are bound up with their cult of animal sacrifice. Their wealth, as already shown, is generally in cows, and at a [782] man's decease half of his cattle are slaughtered as a blood-sacrifice up to the number of 20. In the case of large herds 20 is the maximum. Creditor claims are allowed on the estate to the extent of 1 in 10, and what remains is divided between sons and daughters. The wives' portion is the same as the debts, 1 in 10 in a small estate and generally a maximum of 5 in the [801] case of large estates. A peculiar feature of this mountain system is that if a woman has one daughter, or three daughters and no sons, no part of the estate passes to her deceased husband's family. If she has two daughters it does. There thus seems to be some special merit in the figures 1 and 3. Another feature of the mountain system which differs from the usage of the South Arabian tribes, but accords with Shara, is that all wives get the same share irrespective of whether they have borne children or not.

LOVEMAKING, MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

582 583 Polygamous marriage and facile divorce are the same in South Arabia as elsewhere throughout the peninsula, but with this difference, that the "paternal cousin" has not here the same unquestioned right to the girl's hand as holds elsewhere. The father is the supreme arbiter. The girl is never consulted, at least on the first marriage, about her views on her spouse. In any case she is but a child. Early marriages in both sexes are usual, and instances where one party or the other has not yet reached the age of puberty are not rare, but that is no hindrance to marital relations.

576 932 The mountain people kiss the cheek in salutation, the nomad tribes of South Arabia use the triple nose-kiss, left, right, centre. This is also the lover's kiss amongst them. To grasp

21; Thomas F6 (no date) 1932 · MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

a woman's hand as we should in a hand shake is a shameful overture. The stranger meeting a woman would salute her with outstretched hand and a smart tap of the finger tips only.

Generally speaking, the woman in South Arabia has more liberty than in any other part I know. If there are no love matches in our sense of the word, ladies do make *qasidas* which are passed on for those for whom they are intended by word of mouth. Elsewhere no woman would dare sing—it would be unthinkable for instance in Oman, where she would be beaten as a hussy, but I often heard in these mountains the choruses of women at the water-holes, and very charming they sounded.

Marriage in South Arabia requires a *qadhi*, but divorce does not. A man has only to tire of his wife and say *Talaq* three times, whereupon she must betake herself to her father's house with no alimony beyond the original marriage price—wherefore she is a careful woman. If she is tired of him she must return his marriage portion, and her family the purchase price. It is a rule amongst them that a woman who has gone blind is never divorced. A really expensive bride may cost 20 cows, say 400 Maria Theresa dollars, but they can be much cheaper, ranging downwards to one cow or even 10 dollars. The groom and bride representatives (father or brother) descend to the plain where a *qadhi* legalizes the marriage, and on returning, the women folk of the bride, preceded by men, conduct her to the cave of her spouse. The only cave furniture will be a small carpet bought for the occasion. The bridegroom will slaughter a couple of cows to make a feast and invite all to it, but beyond the men's *rabat* (a monotonous chant of the mountains) there is no dancing and joy-making such as characterize rites of circumcision.

With these tribes child-birth seems to be easy for the woman. She works up to a day or two before the child arrives. She bears it under a tree in the open or in a cave with the possible assistance of her mother or sister, the position being said to be not unlike that taken up by a sprinter for the start of a race. They have no beds, there is no lying in and she is generally fit for work the next day.

Illegitimacy is almost unknown in spite of the greater freedom enjoyed. Early and universal marriage is the reason. Transgression for a girl is regarded differently here than elsewhere in Arabia. In Oman an unmarried expectant mother, or a wife committing adultery, would on discovery be murdered by her father or brother—not by her husband. Nothing would be done to the man who had seduced her. Here the girl would be turned out of the tribe and have to fend for herself, and her male relations would wreak revenge on some female relation of the seducer if they could not pursue and wound him with a sword.

CAVES AND HOUSES.

In the mountains men live in caves during the summer monsoon rain, and under trees at other times. They are not nomads and caves are private possessions. In the coastal plain itself, where man makes a house to shelter himself, the first thing he does is to hammer four nails into the respective corners of the house, which are supposed to keep out the Evil Eye. When completed he slaughters a lamb on the threshold as a sacrifice to his walls enduring—

21; Thomas T-5 (no date) 1932. MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

The tribes of the Central South have a poor reputation as regards the *radud-as-salaam*.[1] The *radud-as-salaam* merely means that when two persons meet, between whose tribes there is blood or other enmity, and one says to the other—"Peace be upon you" and the other replies "And upon you be peace," they have buried the hatchet for the nonce. For one now to take advantage of the other and slay him in his sleep, for instance, would in any other part of Arabia be the deepest treachery. Not so amongst this lawless brood, however. That it may happen elsewhere is possible, but normally the offender would be hounded out of his own tribe or be required to make some requital and his name would be for ever smirched. These non-Arabic speaking tribes of the Central South have no such regard for the elsewhere universal law. They also observe in the breach what is elsewhere a fixed canon, the *thamn-al-bátn* or "stomach price." This is an elaboration of the law of three days' hospitality. If a Badu has eaten the salt of a man his goods are safe for a period of four days and four nights, the time for the last vestige of food to have passed from his body. If the Badu's tribe unwittingly raids the man during these four days they must and do return the loot. This *thamn-al-bátn* is sacred with the other tribes of the southern fringe but not with the non-Arab group. Who and whence are these tribes? Indigenous? Of African origin? or have they a common origin with African tribes, or are none of these hypotheses tenable? Here is an almost black race of brachycephals, and brachycephaly properly belongs to Asia. The answer is for you to decide. History sheds but little light.

In the year A.D. 1325 Ibn Batuta, the great Moorish traveller and theologian, set out on his 25 years' travels through Egypt, Arabia, and Mesopotamia and elsewhere. He sojourned in Dhufar and amongst what he wrote of it was this:—"Another thing is that its people closely resemble the people of North-West Africa in their customs. . . . The outlying population is not Arab, but of a Sudanic type." Does Ibn Batuta help us?

The following discussion took place after the paper:—

Sir Arthur Keith said that Capt. Bertram Thomas had thrown light on one of the darkest anthropological corners of the world. It was now clear that the Southern Arabs were very different from the Northern Arabs—in almost every respect. If one sought to trace the affinities of the Southern Arabs by judging from their external appearances—as revealed in Capt. Thomas's photographs—one was immediately reminded of the native type of North-Eastern Africa. To his eye the Southern Arabs showed in their fuzzy hair and black—or dark brown—pigmentation of hair and skin, as well as in their facial features, distinct Hamitic or Somali-like affinities. On the other hand, Capt. Thomas's measurements of heads proved that the Southern Arabs differed from the Hamitic peoples of Africa and also from the Arabs of Northern Arabia in having skulls which were short and wide. The width of the heads of Southern Arabs was between 80 per cent. and 90 per cent. of the length. The Southern Arabs were distinctly and highly round-headed—or brachycephalic. Hamitic peoples and the Badawin (Arab) type of Northern and North-Western Arabia were usually long-headed or dolichocephalic. Thus Capt. Thomas's observations confirmed the data collected by Professor C. G. Seligman fourteen years ago that the people of Southern Arabia are round-headed or brachycephalic.

Although the Southern Arabs—who were of low stature, the men being usually about 64 inches in height—showed certain Hamitic traits in their features, yet these were overshadowed by others which proclaimed an affinity to the Caucasian or white stock of mankind. They were less fully bearded than the Northern Arab and yet more so than among Hamites. In some respects the South Arabian type bridged the difference between Semite and Hamite.

[1] It is only within comparatively recent times that the Bauthara would recognize the *rubia* at all.